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Florida - 4th District

## 4 Bill Chappell Jr. (D)

Of Ormond Beach — Elected 1968

**Born:** Feb. 3, 1922, Kendrick, Fla.  
**Education:** U. of Florida, B.A. 1947, LL.B. 1949, J.D. 1967.  
**Military Career:** Navy; active reserve 1942-47, reserve 1947-82.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Jeanne Brown, four children, two stepchildren.  
**Religion:** Methodist.  
**Political Career:** Fla. House, 1955-65, 1967-69, Speaker, 1961-63.  
**Capitol Office:** 2465 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4035.



**In Washington:** Colleagues who watched Chappell ease into his Defense Appropriations chairmanship in the 99th Congress saw a man they had rarely noticed before — the shrewd deal-maker and strategist who dominated the Florida Legislature as Speaker of the House in the early 1960s.

Chappell had opted for an inconspicuous role during his nine terms in Congress, avoiding the turmoil of House politics and defending Navy interests in the privacy of the Appropriations Committee room. But thrust into a key chairmanship by the illness and subsequent death of New York Democrat Joseph P. Addabbo, Chappell quickly showed that he still possessed the leadership skills he had put aside for so many years.

Chappell began by reassuring liberal Democrats who dominate the party caucus that he did not intend to impose his own pro-Pentagon loyalties on the rest of the committee. "I am not the acting chairman — I am sitting here in Mr. Addabbo's absence," Chappell said when he replaced the hospitalized Addabbo in 1985. He then offered Addabbo's spending proposal rather than his own, which would have been much kinder to defense spending requests.

Since then, and especially since he became chairman officially upon Addabbo's death, Chappell has worked successfully to place his mark on defense appropriation bills, notably when it comes to backing requests from the Navy. But he has done it carefully. He has been keenly aware of the need to satisfy a more liberal Democratic Caucus — although he could outvote the liberal faction on his subcommittee most of the time, he generally prefers conciliation, sometimes over a drink of scotch in his office late in the afternoon. He has not tried to win battles in subcommittee if he could not

sustain the victory in full committee or on the House floor.

Chappell probably could have stopped his panel from adding a moratorium on anti-satellite testing to a fiscal 1986 appropriations bill, but he chose not to try because he felt he would be reversed on the floor. When the House did pass such a moratorium, he went to conference and fought for it as the House position, even though he personally had voted against it. His prudent approach to a sensitive job won a resounding endorsement when the caucus elected him to a full term as Defense Appropriations chairman by a 201-6 vote in January 1987.

If Chappell's leadership responsibilities require him to take a newly critical look at Pentagon spending requests, his personal values remain those of an old-fashioned Southern Democrat, attuned to the judgment of senior military officers and sensitive to their ideas about what they need.

Chappell was a naval aviator and a captain in the Naval Reserve, and he has always remained in touch with changing technology. He spends long hours sitting through virtually every hearing the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee holds.

Because Addabbo was a Pentagon critic, the second-ranking Chappell was the key man for many Defense Department officials to see during recent years in pleading their case for added funding. In his earlier career on the subcommittee, Chappell was a loyal ally of Florida's Robert L. F. Sikes, who consistently fought to give the Pentagon all it requested and more. When subcommittee Chairman George Mahon of Texas sought to cut defense spending bills, Chappell joined Sikes in fighting him.

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## Florida 4

Daytona's beach at low tide is as wide as a superhighway, and the clutter sometimes makes it look like one. Ever since Florida's population began to boom in the 1950s, Daytona Beach has been the most popular resort on the state's east coast for vacationers who do not want to bother making a long trip down the peninsula.

Though the winter weather is sometimes cool, the city makes a special push to get winter visitors from Canada, and the Daytona International Speedway schedules its Daytona 500 auto race in February to lure tourists.

Parts of Daytona, however, are less than elegant. The boardwalk and some of the city's motels built in earlier boom days are reaching middle age, and competition from neighboring beaches has stepped up in recent years. Although Daytona's population increased by one-fifth in the 1970s, the rate of growth in Ormond Beach, just to the north, was more substantial.

And in Flagler County, a few miles further north, the boom has been even greater, fed by an influx of retirees to the area around Palm Coast.

Because of stiff competition from the nearby metropolitan areas of Jacksonville and Orlando, Daytona's success at attracting new jobs in recent years has been only modest, by Florida standards. Two of the

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largest employers are General Electric and Associated Coca-Cola Bottling Inc.

Daytona Beach and surrounding Volusia County cast about half the district vote. They reliably back Chappell and support most Democratic candidates for statewide office. But in presidential elections, Democrats are on a losing streak in Volusia. Ronald Reagan won 52 percent there in 1980, and improved to 61 percent in 1984.

Moving north from Volusia, the 4th flanks the St. Johns River as it flows toward Jacksonville and the Atlantic. On the coast, St. Augustine trades on its tourist-drawing claim of being "the nation's oldest city," inland, Palatka's economy and air quality bear the stamp of the large Georgia-Pacific paper mill there.

Duval County (Jacksonville) is home to about one-fifth of the district's people. The 4th takes in the southeast corner of Duval, a mostly white-collar, suburban-style area that supplies workers to downtown Jacksonville's offices. Although this area is nearly 100 miles from Chappell's Daytona Beach Shores home, and in a different media market, it supports him just as faithfully as does Volusia County.

**Population:** 512,672. White 451,306 (88%). Black 55,840 (11%). Other 5,602 (1%). Spanish origin 8,693 (2%). 15 and over 385,967 (75%). 65 and over 86,302 (17%). Median age 31.

When Sikes and several of his allies retired at the end of the 1970s, Chappell was left as senior Pentagon spokesman on the subcommittee. He seemed a lonely figure at first, outnumbered on the Democratic side and totally opposite in his views to the new chairman, Addabbo, who replaced Mahon.

But within a short time, Chappell's war was being won in the broader political arena, as concern over global Soviet adventurism was producing a much more defense-oriented Congress.

In 1980, for the first time in 18 years, the full Appropriations Committee added money to a president's defense budget request, although not as much as Chappell wished. As second-ranking Democrat on Defense Appropriations, Chappell was spending much of his time trying to prove that President Carter's own military

chiefs found the administration's spending requests inadequate. His typical approach at hearings was to press senior officers to give the panel their personal, professional judgments about how much money to spend on a program, without reference to administration-imposed constraints.

Chappell was in the forefront of members fighting for reversal of Carter's two big symbolic victories over the services: cancellation of the B-1 bomber in 1977 and the veto of a nuclear aircraft carrier in 1978.

Chappell had fought Carter's 1977 B-1 decision, and in early 1978 joined a congressional effort to keep the program alive a little longer. The move failed by a narrow margin, largely because of opposition from the Air Force. By the time President Carter left office, however, it was clear that Congress would vote

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for a new bomber, with or without presidential support. Chappell was a major reason for the change of opinion.

President Reagan has needed no persuading when it comes to the B-1. But Chappell has remained vigilant in his defense of the plane. "There are those who want to carry on with the old B-52 bomber, an airplane older than the pilots who fly them," he said in 1982. "I do not know of any person in this House who would want his son to fly the B-52 bomber on a penetrating mission in the Soviet Union."

In addition to the B-1, Chappell has been an unyielding supporter of the MX missile and of the Reagan defense increases in general. But Navy issues are his specialty.

Over the years, Chappell has been the Appropriations Committee's best-informed and most energetic advocate of a new nuclear-powered aircraft carrier. To him, the Carter administration's preference for a smaller ship was a clear case of civilian budgeteers sacrificing needed combat power for savings. By 1979, amid mounting concern over the U.S. position in the Persian Gulf, Congress was moving in Chappell's direction on this issue as well. Money for a nuclear carrier was added to the defense budget.

Chappell has been a tireless critic of the F-15, a carrier-borne jet intended to serve as both a fighter and a light bomber. Here, too, he has argued against what he considers a cheap substitute for more copies of the F-14, the Navy's front-line carrier fighter.

His years as a member of the Naval Reserve have been the source of one of his most intense crusades, against what he sees as Navy refusal to equip its reserve units with front-line combat ships. For several years in the late 1970s, Chappell blocked Navy plans to scrap the World War II-vintage destroyers that were the only large combatants assigned to reserve units.

The Navy said these ships were too old to maintain, and it did not want to provide new ones. Chappell pointed to the high level of combat readiness maintained by air squadrons as evidence of what a reserve unit could do if it were given good equipment and supported by a large enough full-time maintenance staff. In 1981 the Pentagon accepted Chappell's position, promising to transfer some relatively modern frigates to reserve control by the mid-1980s.

Chappell is a specialist. While he has one other subcommittee assignment, Energy and Water, he is rarely heard on issues outside his field. In the 98th Congress he took a stand against offshore oil and gas drilling along the

Florida coast, helping amend an Interior Department appropriations bill to restrict outer continental shelf leasing arrangements.

**At Home:** After fending off challenges from liberals in his own party in 1982 and 1984, Chappell enjoyed a respite from competition in 1986. He faced no opposition in either the primary or general elections.

The free ride provided Chappell with a respite from the intraparty ideological warfare that burdened him earlier, particularly in 1982. In that year, wealthy Daytona Beach oil distributor Reid Hughes attacked Chappell for his support of Reagan, and forced the incumbent to summon every ounce of his political strength to survive the Democratic primary.

Calling himself a "real" Democrat, Hughes fervently criticized Chappell's "Boll Weevil" voting record. He accused Chappell of forsaking the elderly, the poor and other average people to become an apologist for Reaganomics and a mouthpiece for the defense contractors who contribute to Chappell's campaigns.

On the defensive throughout the initial primary campaign, Chappell finished only 1,753 votes ahead of Hughes and failed to win a majority because a minor candidate also on the ballot took 7 percent. That set up a Hughes-Chappell runoff a month later.

Chappell's runoff campaign was devoted to discrediting Hughes, something he had not effectively done in the beginning. Chappell called his challenger a far-out liberal who wanted government to spend the country into prosperity with taxpayers footing the bill. He characterized Hughes' largely self-financed \$600,000 campaign as an attempt by a rich man to buy a seat in Congress.

Hughes switched to a more positive tone in the runoff, stressing his three decades as a businessman and his work on behalf of environmental causes. But the media appeal that brought Hughes close in the primary could not mobilize his vote a second time. Between the primary and runoff, Hughes' tally dropped by more than 3,600.

Meanwhile, Chappell succeeded in recharging the organization he had built over seven terms: he held all but 685 of the votes he garnered in the first primary and defeated Hughes with 54 percent. Labor groups, environmentalists, feminists and other Hughes backers were unhappy with the outcome, but there was no outlet for their frustrations, since Republicans nominated a candidate well to the right of Chappell. The incumbent won an eighth term in November by a 2-to-1 margin.

Hughes talked about trying again in the 1984 Democratic primary, but decided against

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it shortly before the candidates' filing deadline. Instead, Carol Granstrom, a former television newscaster, challenged Chappell. She repeated many of the criticisms that Hughes had offered, and drew from the same pool of voters unhappy with Chappell's conservative record.

But Chappell, made wiser by the 1982 race, moved quickly against Granstrom, noting her lack of political experience and questioning her stamina. (Before deciding to run for Congress, Granstrom had quit her job as a TV anchor-woman, explaining that she needed a rest.) Using the slogan, "We have power in Washington. Let's keep it," Chappell won 63 percent of the primary vote. In November, the GOP did not offer a strong candidate.

Chappell was a 12-year veteran of the Legislature and a former state House Speaker when he ran for Congress in 1986 on a law-and-order platform. In a year of urban riots, he blamed the unrest on a "lunatic fringe" and

called for stricter law enforcement. He favored escalation of military activity in Vietnam to win the war there. Criticizing some Supreme Court rulings as based "on whim and sociological argument," Chappell advocated "restraints" on the court to prevent erosion of states' rights.

Chappell's resolute conservatism brought him the Democratic nomination by a narrow margin over state Sen. Douglas Stenstrom. His GOP general election opponent was William F. Herlong, a nephew of the district's retiring Democratic congressman, A. Sydney Herlong. It was a good Republican year in Florida, with Richard M. Nixon at the top of the ticket, but Chappell pulled through with 53 percent.

Herlong's near-miss in a traditionally Democratic district kept Republicans in pursuit of Chappell, and GOP candidates won 42 percent in 1970 and 44 percent in 1972. But no Republican has topped 35 percent since.

**Committee**

Appropriations, 10th of 35 Democrats;  
Defense (chairman), Energy, and Water Development

**Elections**

**1986 General:**  
Bill Chappell Jr. (D) Unopposed

**1984 General:**  
Bill Chappell Jr. (D) 134,694 (65%)  
Alton F. Starling (R) 73,218 (35%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1982 (67%) 1980 (66%)  
1978 (73%) 1976 (70%) 1974 (68%) 1972 (56%)  
1970 (52%) 1968 (53%)

**District Vote For President**

1984		1980		1976	
D	75,493 (33%)	D	90,665 (40%)	D	101,649 (54%)
R	151,263 (67%)	R	125,277 (56%)	R	85,485 (45%)
		I	7,114 (3%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1986</b>			
Chappell (D)	\$279,117	\$171,001 (61%)	\$135,756
<b>1984</b>			
Chappell (D)	\$416,237	\$227,990 (55%)	\$404,165
Starling (R)	\$22,966	0	\$22,670

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	43	50	65	24	72	20
1985	52	43	70	23	82	13
1984	49	46	61	29	86	7
1983	60	35	53	39	86	4
1982	45	17	49	28	66	10
1981	71	24	38	55	84	11

S = Support O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Produce MX missiles (1985) Y  
Cut federal subsidy for water projects (1985) N  
Weaker gun control laws (1986) Y  
Cut back public housing construction (1986) N  
Aid Nicaraguan contras (1986) Y  
Impose textile import limits over Reagan veto (1986) Y  
Block chemical weapons production (1986) N  
Impose South African sanctions over Reagan veto (1986) Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	30	52	64	31
1985	40	57	53	33
1984	30	48	46	44
1983	20	82	38	67
1982	20	57	29	73
1981	5	93	40	79